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SOURCE Ch'un-chung Jih-pao.

WIDESPREAD CONCERN IN NORTHWEST CHINA OVER
DISMISSAL OF VETERAN COMMUNIST EDUCATOR FROM PARTY

The firing of Chang Hsuan (1) [Numbers in parentheses refer to appended characters], a 14-year party member, from the vice-principalship of the Northwest Nationalities Academy at Ian-chou, Kenuu, and his dismissal from the party in April 1952 for defying party leadership, violating party regulations, and wrecking party policies aroused concern in Northwest China.

Chang Hsuan was removed as vice-principal of the academy because he failed to carry out the educational directives of the Government Administration Council and the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee, defied the higher echelon of the party and government, created religious fractionalism among the minority nationalities, practiced paternalistic domination over subordinates, and subverted the interests of the party and government to his personal ambitions and self-glorification.

Immediately after the Kansu Provincial Party Committee's official announcement of Chang Hsuan's dismissal from the party was featured on the front-page of the Sien Ch'un-chung Jih-pao on 30 April 1952, the Party Branch Committee of the People's Revolutionary University called a meeting the same afternoon to discuss the affair which had excited concern in and out of the party.

The apparent anxiety over public reaction to Chang Hsuan's dismissal from his post and the party was indicated by the prominence given to his case by the press. The Ch'ua-chung jih-pao of 30 April 1952 devoted virtually the entire front page to the affair by publishing a detailed report on Chang Hsuan's personal history and reasons for his dismissal, the full text of the official dismissal announcement of the Kansu Provincial Party Committee, and an editorial endorsing the party's action and urging a continued struggle against the remnant petit bourgeois elements in the party.

On 5 May 1952, the Ch'un-chung Jih-pao published the "Views of the North-west Military and Administrative Committee Regarding the Punishment of Chang Hsuan," which repeated the reasons for removing Chang Hsuan from his post.

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On 9 May 1952, the editor of the Ch'un-chung Jih-pao introduced the first of a series of articles criticizing the erroneous ideology of Chang Hsuan and solicited essays that would expose other facts regarding Chang Hsuan's errors and report on the nature and results of discussions held by party branches on this subject. Essays, including one by Chang Hsuan's wife, appeared daily from 9 to 17 May.

While these articles generally repeated and elaborated on the ideological errors and personal misconduct of Chang Hsuan, several revealed that there were many dissatisfied party members who were guilty of petit bourgeoisie ideology and who were not much different from Chang Hsuan.

Chang Hsuan was also accused of using two-faced tactics to achieve personal glory and advancement, misusing government funds, and applying high-handed methods against his colleagues. But his major crime was teaching "historical materialism" and neglecting to emphasize Chinese subjects, as prescribed by the directives of the Government Administration Council.

According to the resolution on "Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Cadres of Minority Nationalities," approved by the Government Administration Council and published in the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao of 14 June 1952, it was stipulated that "The basic content of the long-range political course for all minority-nationalities academies and cadre-training schools should include Chinese history and the present situation in China, history of the minority nationalities in China, the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, minority nationality problems and policies, Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Tse-tung's thoughts. In keeping with this general direction, short-term courses should have a concrete curriculum specially keyed to practical work among minority nationalities."

Chang Hsuan felt that the courses as prescribed by the Government Administration Council were too simple, and, therefore, ignored the directive and admonitions of his superiors by persistently teaching abstract and impractical subjects.

The following is the text of the Kansu Provincial Party Committee's announcement which was published in the Ch'un-chung Jih-pao on 30 April 1952:

Decision of the Kansu Provincial Party Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Dismissal of Chang Hsuan From the Party

"Chang Hsuan, 37, a native of Szechwan, who came from the family of a small bureaucrat and landlord, joined the party in 1938.

"Inbued with the selfish motives of individualism, Chang Hsuan joined the party. His history in the party shows that he won the confidence of the party through his active participation, but during this same period, he frequently opposed the leadership of the party and assumed an independent attitude toward it. After he became vice-principal of the Northwest Nationalities Academy in February 1952, his incorrect thoughts and action developed increasingly, a situation which resulted in serious injury to party and governmental affairs.

"In the first place, he carried on many activities which seriously undermined party policies and violated party regulations. The Northwest Bureau stipulated that the development of the Northwest Nationalities Academy should proceed in accordance with the immediate needs of the Northwest minority nationalities and should accommodate itself to the actual conditions of the students. It was also directed that the academy should conform to the Government Administration Council's resolution on 'Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Minority Nationality Cadres,' carry out the basic contents of the minority nationality policies of Marxism and Mao Tse-tung's thoughts, as well as other

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policies, and orient its educational aims to the practical. But Chang Hsuan regarded the academy, a cadre-training institution, as his personal educational experimental laboratory. Without authorization, he applied his so-called educational principles of 'historical materialism,' which were unrelated to reality.

"He vainly hoped for success in his experiment to prove the errors in the decisions of the Central Committee, the Northwest Bureau, and the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee. His success would thereby elevate him from a brooding bully to the position of a great person worshiped by thousands of people.

"To satisfy his mad, personal desires, he pretended to observe the regulations, but actually he conspired to break them. For example, in September 1951, Comrade Hsi Chung-hsun, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee, and Wang Feng, chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Committee of the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee, went to the academy and gave him clear-cut and concrete directives regarding the educational aims and curriculum of the academy. On this occasion, Chang Hsuan deceitfully said 'Comrade Hsi, please feel assured that I will firmly carry out the decision of the Northwest Bureau.' Later, when Wang Feng discovered that Chang Hsuan still has not corrected his errors, he questioned and criticized him by long-distance telephone. Chang Hsuan, in turn, again promised that he would not repeat the same mistakes the following semester. Actually, however, he persisted in carrying out his erroneous educational aims, and on the pretext that the resolutions of the Government Administration Council were only tentative, he refused to implement them. As a result, he seriously impeded the healthy ideological development of thousands of minority nationality cadres.

"Chang Hsuan's disregard for organizational procedure was also demonstrated in his belief that the Nationalities Affairs Committee of the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee was a 'minor organ' which knew nothing about education. Consequently, he was irregular in filing his reports, failed to carry out directives, and disobeyed the leadership.

"In 1951, he announced the unauthorized employment of 16 cadres, and he took funds allocated for minority nationality educations to start a business, which was stealing from the public to fatten a few individuals. In the management of this business venture, he evaded the payment of taxes, which damaged the economic system of the nation and violated its laws.

"During the Three-Anti's Movement, the Kansu Provincial Party Committee asked Chang Hsuan to criticize his own errors. From the very beginning he did not criticize himself sufficiently; but, instead, he filed false reports to his superiors and slandered his fellow comrades. During the Three-Anti's Movement, there was a serious manifestation of his extorting testimony from accused persons, which had a vicious effect on the masses.

"Moreover, he created serious religious factionalism among the minority nationalities and practiced paternalistic domination over his subordinates. Chang Hsuan persisted in his erroneous educational aims, and during his disputes with his comrades, he announced himself as the 'representative of the Northwest Bureau and the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee.' He said, 'My aims are identical with those of the Northwest Bureau and the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee.' To satisfy his depraved desires, he followed the principle of fostering and helping those cadres which played up to him by giving them special consideration. But students who adhered to party principles and honestly worked hard for party causes were slandered, oppressed, and even had their lives endangered.

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"He took the party branch as his own personal tool. He proclaimed, 'I am the party, the party is I; oppose me and you oppose the party.'

"He retained the selfishness and putrid ideology of the exploiting class. Chang Hsuan classified himself as a cadre of the same grade as a department chief in the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee, and placed himself in the rank of a chairman of a provincial government. For this reason, he felt that he should receive preferential treatment different from that received by others. He felt that the cadres in his organization did not give him the attention due a 'chief.'

"Aside from his own expenses, which were paid from the public treasury, Chang Hsuan also allocated himself 100 catties of rice monthly. His own personal waste and extravagance were huge. His exploiting-class ideology and working style were constantly reflected in his barbarous, uncivilized, and high-handed manner toward guards and miscellaneous workers in his office.

"The outbreak of this serious incorrect ideology from Chang Hsuan did not occur suddenly and unexpectedly. He has consistently exhibited a two-faced attitude toward the party. In 1938, during his work in Szechwan, he disobeyed the decisions of the Szechwan Provincial Activities Committee of the CCP. In 1939, at Lung-tung, Kansu, he instigated the struggle against the party leadership. Afterwards, in his educational work in the Northwest, he again led anti-party activities. On each occasion, when he committed errors, the party patiently criticized and educated him, and each time, he would acknowledge his mistakes. In reality, however, he did not correct them. When his errors in the Northwest Nationalities Academy were exposed, the Kansu Provincial Party Committee again educated him and asked him to ponder over his mistakes. But when the Northwest Bureau assigned a working team to investigate him, he even criticized the good intentions of higher-echelon comrades and described them as trouble makers. Assuming a bellicose attitude toward the team, Chang Hsuan totally refused to admit his mistakes and unrepentantly persisted in his errors.

"The above shows that Chang Hsuan is an opportunist who infiltrated the party by concealing his personal and treacherous ambitions behind the cloak of Marxism-Leninism. He is a renegade who violated the principles of Communism. For the strict enforcement of party regulations and the purification of the organization, the Provincial Party Committee decided, with the concurrence of the Northwest Bureau, to expel Chang Hsuan from the party and recommend to the Northwest Military and Administrative Committee that it dismiss him as vice-principal and administrative officer of the Northwest Nationalities Academy."

The following are comments extracted from articles published by the Ch'un-chung Jih-pao from 30 April to 17 May in a special column, "Support the Decision Expelling Chang Hsuan From the Party -- Criticize and Evaluate the Errors of Chang Hsuan's Ideology."

9 May 1952

1. An article by Chang Yang-wu (4) on "We Should Learn a Lesson From the Errors of Chang Hsuan's Ideology and Educational Aims," warned members that they cannot assume an independent attitude toward party directives and policies but must follow the leadership and maintain close contact with the masses if they are to succeed in their work.

10 May 1952

2. Mrs Chang Hsuan, nee Zhou Yu-ying (3), who married Chang Hsuan in 1950, wrote an article entitled, "Support the Party's Decision," in which she confessed that she did not penetratingly criticize her husband's ideological errors and his extreme egotism for fear of disrupting family harmony. "The errors committed by Chang Hsuan are extremely serious. I

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completely support the decision of the party. I hope Chang Hsuan will learn a lesson from the serious punishment meted out to him and will forthwith repent and reform himself," she concluded.

11 May 1952

The CCP branch of the educational office of Northwest People's Revolutionary University submitted an article on "The Lesson Derived From the Development of Chang Hsuan's Ideological Errors." This article was very critical toward party members for not reporting Chang Hsuan's errors to a higher echelon.

Even though a segment of party members feel that Chang Hsuan's errors are serious, they have not actively criticized him, nor have they taken up the matter with the leadership. Instead, they took a liberal attitude toward him. There are still some members who ask: 'What intellectual cadre doesn't retain some petit bourgeois and liberal ideology?' Because of this attitude, they took a forgiving and tolerant attitude toward Chang Hsuan's mistakes."

12 May 1952

4. In an article entitled "A Criticism of my Self-Glorification and Aspiration for High Office," Wu Ming-chu (4) was prompted by the Chang Hsuan affair to confess that he had not worked for the welfare of the people but for his own personal glory.

13 May 1952

5. An article was submitted by Liu Tuan-fen (5), vice-president of the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, entitled, "Bury the Practice of Making Yourself a 'Leading Personality' and Start Purging the Petit Bourgeois Ideology From the Party." The article called for a merciless elimination of self-appointed leaders who oppose the party and urged the scrapping of moderate reform methods.

14 May 1952

6. I Tan (6) submitted an article on "A Criticism of Chang Hsuan's Aspiration for Personal Glory and the Nature of this Unscrupulous Ideology." The author warned that the dismissal of Chang Hsuan does not mean there are no more two-faced opportunists left in the party. On the contrary, he pointed out that there are still dishonest and insincere elements remaining in the party and that varying degrees and forms of individualism and thoughts of self-glorification are still universally prevalent."

15 May 1952

7. Kao Chien-chun (7), vice-chairman of the organization department of the Kiangsu Provincial Party Committee, wrote an article, "The Dismissal of Chang Hsuan is a Victory for the Party," in which he recapitulated all the charges that were leveled against Chang Hsuan and called for an intense study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thoughts.

17 May 1952

8. Two articles were published on this day, one by the secretariat of the Party School of the Northwest Bureau and the other by Li Chun-sheng (8), a former aide of Chang Hsuan.

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The article by the secretariat condemned the self-seeking petit bourgeois elements within the secretariat and the party who were not much different from Chang Hsuan. It denounced the "many party members who were dissatisfied with their assigned jobs and who went among the masses complaining about their assignments, thereby creating a bad effect among the people." The article said, "these members are dissatisfied with their assignments, because they are more interested in their personal glory, self-interest, and future rather than in the welfare of the party and the people. Unless this erroneous ideology of dissident members is corrected the affairs of the people and the party will suffer. Moreover, these comrades will reach the point where their errors, like Chang Hsuan's will be incurable."

The second article, by Li Chun-sheng, recounts some of the high-handed tactics which Chang Hsuan used against his employees and praised the party for expelling him, even though he was a veteran member.

CHARACTERS

1. 張 宜
2. 張 養 吾
3. 周 玉 英
4. 武 明 珠
5. 劉 端 榮
6. 一 聲
7. 高 錦 君
8. 李 俊 昇

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